BROADCASTING FOR THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES

The Need for a Community Development Approach

By Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos

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Executive Summary

Canada's two official language minorities -- the French outside Quebec and the English in Quebec, each of which comprise about a million people -- have never really been treated as minorities when it comes to broadcasting policy.

The French outside Quebec (population 942,080) have always been treated as an extension of the French in Quebec by Radio-Canada. Without Radio-Canada, the French who are spread across the country, would have very little. However, because of Radio-Canada's policies, they often feel bereft of any service at all and turn to English language services.

It is for this reason that many francophones, including the Fédération des francophones hors Québec refer from time to time to the crown corporation as "an agent of assimilation". Less than half (49 per cent) of francophones across the country listen to Radio-Canada's nine radio stations and only 56 per cent watch its seven television stations. By contrast 93 per cent watch English television.

There are many reasons for this. Three that the French mention repeatedly are 1. regional programming that does not reflect their milieus, 2. broadcasters who come from Quebec and are uninterested, and even scornful, of the communities they serve and 3. a national service that is too Quebec oriented.

The roots of the problem lie in the bureaucratic workings of Radio-Canada which refuses to see the French outside Quebec as requiring different policies from the French in Montreal.

When radio and television stations were set up in various cities across the country during the 1960s and 1970s, the French communities were not blessed with many cultural institutions. Public high schools in French

were only beginning and community college and university programs were few and far between. However, every community usually had a small educated elite, most often associated with institutions supported by the church.

In some areas outside Quebec, the French communities were almost closet groups, afraid to express themselves in public in French. Having endured a long succession of humiliations at the hands of the English regarding school rights, they were neither confident nor assertive.

Into this context arrived Montreal bureaucrats from Radio-Canada armed with federal government edicts to recognize the bilingual and regional character of Canada. Radio-Canada could have acted as an agent of social change and community development, aggressively recruiting in the various regions and offering solid training programs for promising young broadcasters. Instead it sent in a company of Quebecers who were insensitive to the political and social problems of the communities and who saw a stay in francophone "outposts" as a chance to gain experience in preparation for better jobs back in Montreal.

The French outside Quebec have endured this situation with patience for more than a decade. They have cajoled and complained and argued, asking for consultative committees, training programs for broadcasters, and a little respect from Quebecers working at their stations. They have even been reduced to asking that they be allowed to use their own accents on air. Radio-Canada has budged a little, but not much.

More educated, more politicized, and more assertive, the French outside Quebec are now asking Radio-Canada to give them autonomy over their radio and television stations. This is what they should have. Radio-Canada should assign itself a new role outside Quebec. Recognizing that minorities are different from majorities, it should develop an approach to the one million francophones outside Quebec that differs entirely from its policy for Montreal.

Radio-Canada services are a vital part of French broadcasting outside Quebec, but there are additional possibilities for programming. One of the problems with Radio-Canada is that the stations serve vast regions and not local communities. To fill this gap, the French youth across the country -- through the Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français -- want to set up a network of community radio stations and are seeking a five-year commitment from the federal government to do it. This, they say, will give local communities stations that are close to them and that can serve as fruitful training grounds for young people interested in pursuing careers in the media.

Another gap the French would like to see filled is related to offering viewers a choice in television programming. Radio-Canada, they feel, is not sufficient, mostly because it is so Quebec oriented. Rather than depend upon other stations available through satellite, most of them also from Quebec, the French would like a second French network composed of material selected by them from a variety of sources. This could include TV Ontario, Radio-Quebec, the National Film Board, Télé-Acadie and so on.

The French outside Quebec are looking for broadcasting policies inspired by a community development approach. They do not want to be appended to some already existent bureaucracy and forced to meet inappropriate norms and regulations. They are a minority and wanted to be treated as such by Radio-Canada, the federal Department of Communications, Secretary of State, and the CRTC.

The situation of the English minority in Quebec (population 809,150) is very different from that of the French outside Quebec. Until the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, the English did not feel or behave like a minority. Psychologically, economically and culturally, they were part of the English majority. This changed after the expansion of the Quebec bureaucracy in the 1960s and the growth of the Parti Québécois in the 1970s.

Over the past 25 years, the community has changed enormously. In 1961, for example, only a quarter of the English in Quebec spoke French. Now more than a half are bilingual, this rising to three-quarters for those 25 and under. This new bilingualism is partly the result of new trends in schooling to meet the challenge of learning French. The children of the English elite often go to French schools, while many others attend French immersion programs. About a third of all English-speaking children are in some kind of French program.

The 1970s were particularly difficult years for the community which lost 100,000 people during that period. A drop of 14 per cent of the population was considered unprecedented by Canada demographers. As individuals left, so did large numbers of head offices, taking with them hundreds of jobs.

The migration of head offices has slowly changed the structure of the community. English business interests are no longer so influential in the community. Now a larger percentage of the English work in the educational, health and social service sectors. In this changing context, cultural activities are becoming more vital, as they always are for minorities. It is in this respect that broadcasting policy is important.

The English in Quebec, of course, cannot be seen as an undifferentiated mass. Geographically, there are two groups: the English in Montreal (between 500,000 and 600,000) and the English in the rest of the province (about 200,000) each with its own cultural needs.

In Montreal, the CBC in particular has played an important community development role in the 1970s to help the English come to terms with their new political and social status. This role should be intensified. Among other things, the CBC should help the community express its experience in television and radio drama. However, it is

in precisely this area that the CBC is weak. Recently both radio and television lost their drama producers, one of them to the network in Toronto. A siphoning away of talent has been a major problem for the community. Nevertheless, Montreal remains the third largest English city in the country and has the resources to be highly creative if people are properly cultivated.

For the English in the city the major recommendation in this report is that CBC radio and television in Montreal pull together young talent and work with institutions like the Communications Department at Concordia University, the community colleges, the National Film Board, the Centaur Theatre, and the National Threatre School to train people in radio and television drama.

The situation for the 150,000 to 200,000 English outside Montreal is very different. Here the communities have much in common with many French communities outside Quebec, particularly those outside the bilingual belt that runs from New Brunswick to Ontario. The greatest concentrations of English outside Montreal are found in the Eastern Townships (50,000) and the Outaouais (46,500). Other communities are much smaller.

This group has few cultural supports and for radio depends on the CBC's community service broadcast out of the station in Quebec City. To everyone's satisfaction, it recently added an afternoon progrm, Breakaway, to the three-hour morning show. In its programming, the Quebec City station makes a point of getting material from the various communities using ten local broadcasters who are not professionals to give the programs flavor. Among the contributors are a fireman, a teacher and a housewife. Despite the addition, the communities find two regional programs insufficient and are looking for a third.

The two official language minorities -- the French outside Quebec and the English in Quebec -- are admittedly not the same and require quite different policies. But both are minorities and as such deserve special treatment by the public broadcasting sector. Rather than seeing them as extensions of the French or English services, the CBC should shape policies to match specific community requirements. For both services, this would be a new, but necessary, departure.

INTRODUCTION

Canada's two official language minorities, the French outside Quebec and the English in Quebec, each comprise about one million people. Their numbers are the same, but the similarity ends there. Until the Quiet Revolution, the English in Quebec were not considered a minority, least of all by themselves. Psychologically, economically and culturally, they were part of the English Canadian majority.

This changed after the expansion of the Quebec bureaucracy in the 1960s and the rise of the Parti Québécois in the 1970s. By 1976, when the Parti Québécois came to power, the English felt and behaved like a minority. Between 1971 and 1981, 14 per cent of them left Quebec. Many wanted to escape what they considered to be anti-English policies in government.

To cope with the avalanche of complaints about rights triggered by the adoption of the Parti Québécois language legislation (Bill 101), several special interest groups were organized. The most important was Alliance Quebec. It spanned the province and received funding from the federal Secretary of State's department to fight provincial laws and practices on everything from access to English schools to signs and the administration of social services. By joining the list of groups seeking support from the Secretary of State, the English of Quebec served notice that they had become a minority.

In contrast to the English, the French outside Quebec have always felt like a minority, and a powerless one. While English in Quebec enjoyed constitutional guarantees in the Quebec legislature and courts and -- through denominational provisions -- in education, for example, the French had no rights at all. French public high schools across the country were introduced by the provinces only in the late sixties and rights to French education were written into the constitution only in 1982.

The challenge for the French outside Quebec has been la survivance: survival. After the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the introduction of the Official Languages Act, and the rise of nationalism in Quebec, the status of the French language across the country improved. Ironically this took place during a period of galloping assimilation of French-speaking people into the English-language community.

Today half the people of French origin outside Quebec use English at home. Only in the border regions of New Brunswick and Ontario does French remain in popular use. Nevertheless, the French as a group want to keep their language and culture and are using regional organizations and the Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec, to support them.

The priority during the 1970s and early 1980s was the establishment and expansion of French schools, community colleges, and university programs. While this concern has not diminished, francophones are now looking for better services in other domains, among them broadcasting and the media generally.

PART ONE: THE FRENCH OUTSIDE QUEBEC

1. A Brief Profile

The approximately one million French outside Quebec (942,080) comprise 5.3 per cent of the population outside the province and are represented right across the country. The biggest concentration of francophones is found in New Brunswick, where they are nearly a quarter of a million and comprise one-third of the population, and in Ontario where they are nearly half a million. Though they account for only 5.5 per cent of the Ontario population, in the north-east they make up a quarter and in the Ottawa region about one-third. A total of 709,635 live in what is called the "bilingual belt" stretching from northern

New Brunswick to north-eastern Ontario between the mainly French and mainly English concentrations of Canada's population.

French prospects for development look most secure in the bilingual belt. Outside this area, there are only small pockets of francophones: 52,560 in Manitoba, 25,540 in Saskatchewan, 62,148 in Alberta, 45,615 in British Columbia, 2,655 in Newfoundland, 6,080 in Prince Edward Island, and 36,030 in Nova Scotia for a total of about a quarter of a million across the country. In these provinces the struggle to remain French is acute.

Assimilation rates for francophones outside Quebec -- the proportion for whom English has become the language used at home -- have reached an average of 33 per cent, going up to a high of 72 per cent in British Columbia. The lowest rate is 10 per cent in New Brunswick where it is lower even than the French assimilation of the English in Quebec, which is now at a rate of 14 per cent. Reasons for assimilation vary. A prime cause is exogamie (marriage to a non-francophone); a second is urbanization; a third is the homogenizing effect of English mass media.

Since 1969 the status of French improved owing to federal laws like the Official Languages Act and programs introduced by the Secretary of State. Concurrent with this was progressive recognition by the various provinces of the right to a French education and to French trials, New Brunswick leading the way and followed by Ontario. The legislatures of New Brunswick and Manitoba gave French official status, in the first case as the result of the new Canadian constitution, in the second following a controversial Supreme Court decision.

While the status of French grew at the federal level especially, traditional French institutions run by the Catholic church were in the process of disintegrating. This was largely because of the expansion

of the provincial bureaucracies which took over hospitals, social services and colleges.

The collapse of French institutions was associated as much with the passing of rural French culture as it was with the rise of the provincial civil services. This weakened the French communities, but it was counter-balanced by the rise of a strong regional consciousness, particularly in Acadia and Ontario. Coinciding with the rise of nationalism in Quebec, it was marked by an outpouring of novels, poetry, plays and music in places like Sudbury, Ottawa and Moncton.

Despite the soaring of regional pride and improvements in the status of French both federally and provincially, assimilation has continued unabated. The institutional completeness of the closed rural communities with the church at the centre has seen no modern replacement.

While the French communities across the country go through a difficult period of transition from rural to urban living, they have been greeted by an unexpected phenomenon: a slowly rising tide of bilingual anglophones. In 1971, only 5 per cent of mother tongue anglophones, or 710,925, spoke French; by 1981 the proportion stood at 8 per cent, or 1,114,250, of whom 743,205 were outside Quebec.

This new bilingualism comes as a result of an interest by the anglophone elite in the French language. Anglophones recognize that French is an asset in gaining federal jobs and in dealing with Quebec. But the interest goes deeper than this. It reflects an awareness in the Canadian people of the need to relate to a more pluralistic environment and to break away from the confines of ethnicity and language.[1] The clearest evidence of anglo interest in French can been seen in the numbers of children in French immersion programs, a total of 100,000 across the country.

Bilingual anglophones are not francophones in the cultural sense, but they show interest in French books, films, and educational materials. Francophones across the country -- including the Fédération des francophones hors Québec -- recognize that bilingual anglophones add a variable that should be taken into account in evaluating certain French services, and the market for them, particularly the media. Francophones outside Quebec, it would appear, are moving toward a new concept of la francophonie which draws from a broad cultural base.[2]

2. Why the French Outside Quebec Find the Media So Important

With the transition of francophone communities across the country from a rural base to cities, new types of institutions are required to replace, among other things, the parish and its related activities. Schools, community colleges and university programs are important, but the French must see themselves as part of the larger public in the press, on radio and on television. Their presence in the media confirms that despite their minority status, they are in fact players on the Canadian cultural and linguistic stage. To be denied a place in the media that corresponds to their life and concerns is -- in the 1980s -- to be issued a cultural death warrant.

The one million francophones spread across the country know this and have sounded an alarm about the state of radio and television in their milieus. So irrelevant is the French broadcasting accessible to them that less than half (49 per cent) listen to French radio while only slightly more than half (56 per cent) watch French television.[3] Since 1978, in radio, there has been a drop in the number of hours of listening by 25 per cent. The slack has been taken up by English stations, now listened to by 69 per cent of the French constituency. Interest in French television is also dropping as more English channels open up. According to studies, 93 per cent of the French population watches English television.

Over the past ten years, but particularly in the past five, francophone associations as well as Radio-Canada have produced a number of studies on the question of French broadcasting outside Quebec. Drawing upon this literature a recent report entitled Motivation d'écoute et non-écoute des francophones hors Québec face à la radio-télévision française makes the point that the survival of French language and culture is related to the health of the French media.

"The French outside Quebec living in areas with heavy concentrations of anglophones recognize that French radio and television is related to the survival of the French fact, a survival associated with language and ethnicity and culture and realize that certain socio-cultural aims fuel the listening of French radio and television. Some francophones assign to French stations the special role of reinforcing French regional culture in the face of the dominant English culture."[4]

Most francophones outside Quebec receive regional programming from Radio-Canada's nine radio and seven television stations across the country, but they find the number of hours of programming low and in many cases not sufficiently reflective of their milieus. So upset are the communities about the inadequacies of Radio-Canada's regional programming that they have banded together to demand a government-supported network of community radio stations. The Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français, which has been acting as a coordinator for this effort, makes this comment about Radio-Canada in a brief to the CRTC on community radio.

"With the arrival of new English services, we observe more and more disenchantment on the part of the French constituency for the French network of Radio-Canada. The reasons for this disenchantment are many: programming that stresses talk, in addition to a language and content that is often out of context contribute to the fact that the crown corporation reaches less and less ordinary groups of francophones."[5]

Concern about this situation is now new. Eight years ago, in Les héritiers de Lord Durham, the Fédération des francophones hors Québec wrote that the problem with Radio-Canada was that it did not reflect the lives of francophones in the regions. "God knows how much time the average Canadian spends in front of his television set! The francophone who is badly served by the only station that exists in his own language has no other choice than to change stations ... and to assimilate."

3. The History of French Radio and Television Services

Most of the French radio and virtually all television stations located outside Quebec are financed and controlled by Radio-Canada. This was not always the case. As a recent report prepared for the Fédération des francophones hors Québec points out, commercial French radio dates back to the 1920s and prospered until the beginning of the 1970s.[6]

Closely tied to community interests, these radio stations "enjoyed a great capacity to maneuver, and easily adapted to the demands and desires of their communities. They did not have to respond to a heavy national mandate. This created a particular model for radio that one could define according to the terms of Louis Souchon, nouvelliste at the Winnipeg radio station in 1948. He said that the mission of radio was to be a rallying point, an interpreter, and a guide ..."[7] In St. Boniface, Sudbury, Timmins and Edmundston, local stations concerned with grassroots interests prevailed.

The extent and nature of French radio and television changed dramatically in the 1960s. In the wake of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Radio-Canada set up French radio and television stations across the country. Until the 1960s, the only French stations had been in Moncton and Ottawa. Both were started in the 1950s. The idea behind the expansion of French broadcasting services was to reflect more adequately the bilingual nature of the country. Radio-Canada broadcasting is also supposed to reflect regional activity, the 1968 Broadcasting Act stipulating in section 3 that it must serve "the special needs of geographic regions and actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment."

In accordance with its mandate to provide services in both languages and to reflect regional differences, French radio stations were established in Ottawa (1964), Toronto (1964), Sudbury (1978), Windsor (1970). Winnipeg (1973), Regina (1973), Edmonton (1974), and Vancouver (1967). French television units were set up in Toronto (1973), Winnipeg (1960), Moncton (1959), Edmonton (1970), Regina (1976), and Vancouver (1976). The French television station in Ottawa had been opened in 1955.

The political context in which expansion of services took place created certain problems for the French outside Quebec. From the B and B commission and federal prime ministers like Lester B. Pearson and Pierre Elliott Trudeau came a will to promote the idea of a bilingual nation from coast to coast. Within Quebec attitudes were different. French opinion leaders and intellectuals had given up on the French outside Quebec. At the Estates General meeting in 1968, Quebecers wrote off the French outside the province. As René Lévesque was to put it later, they were "dead ducks." Francophones across the country who wanted to stay French were expected to migrate to Quebec.

According to the French outside Quebec, installation of radio and television services in the regions was not done in a spirit of partnership because the Radio-Canada bureaucrats in Montreal did not take the communities of the so-called diaspora seriously. Programming and hiring policies, they say, were decided in the head office of Radio-Canada, not in the heart of the communities being served.

With the arrival of Radio-Canada, French broadcast media across the country became an extension of the radio and television bureaucracy in Montreal. The community control typified by the programming of the private French radio stations, like the one in St. Boniface, which had served as "un point de ralliment, un interprète et un guide," vanished. Often, as here private stations were taken over by Radio-Canada.

At this point, the French outside Quebec were becoming accustomed to the loss of community control over their institutions. French hospitals and social services were sparse but where they existed they were run by the clergy. As the provincial civil services expanded in the 1960s control slid away from the Roman Catholic church into the hands of English-speaking bureaucrats who applied province-wide norms and regulations that took little account of cultural or linguistic differences.

The arrival of Radio-Canada meant expansion, and certainly not a reduction, of broadcast services in French. In this respect it gave the French language a boost in status, but this was mitigated by the fact that the communities were offered so little control over stations. From the very beginning, Radio-Canada made it clear that decisions on everything -- including allowable accents -- would come from the inner sanctums of Montreal.

In keeping with the approach followed in Montreal, the new Radio-Canada stations insisted on offering programs for an elite rather than for average members of the community. In Montreal the policy made sense because Montrealers unable to identify with Radio-Canada could choose other stations. Outside Quebec, Radio-Canada was usually the only choice.

Unfortunately even the interests of local elites were not well-served, largely because of misguided hiring policies. Well-educated representatives of the French elite outside Quebec could have been hired through the classical colleges in Sudbury and Ottawa, for example. But the Radio-Canada management rarely recruited locally and refused to set up training programs in the field in order to create a home-grown team of announcers, producers and managers in broadcasting.

Instead, Radio-Canada sent out an army of Québécois "cultural missionaries" who saw a stint in the outposts of la francophonie as a stepping stone to a better job back home in Montreal. Francophones from the regions report, that many took -- and continue to take -- no interest in their communities.

4. French Radio and Television Services Now Available

Most radio and television services for the French outside Quebec are offered through the public broadcasting sector where Radio-Canada has been the chief player. Now, through regional educational networks, the provinces are entering the game. TV Ontario, funded by the Ontario government, has a small French service for franco-Ontarians that will developed into a full-fledged French network. Radio-Québec, funded by the Quebec government, is expected to extend its signal outside Quebec. Francophones outside Quebec give most attention to broadcasting in the public sector because of its predominance. Nevertheless, the private sector continues to play a role, offering an interesting counterpoint to the government-supported programming.

i. French Programming in the Private Sector

A. Radio

Commercial Stations

In the bilingual belt there are five French radio stations in the private sector offering an alternative to Radio-Canada programming. New Brunswick has two, in Caraquet and Edmundston, while northern and eastern Ontario have three, in Subbury, Timmins and Hawkesbury. Ottawa has no private French station, but the city has access to an AM and FM station in Hull which programs for an audience that includes Ottawa. Until 1984, there were two other French private stations, CHCR in Moncton and CFIX in Cornwall; both went broke.

In addition some English stations in the Maritimes set aside a certain number of hours each week for French programming. As a condition of its licence, CKNB in Campbellton, New Brunswick, broadcasts nine hours, while CKBC in Bathurst, with no prodding from the CRTC, offers 7, and CIGO in Port Hawkesbury, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia offers one.

Privately-funded French radio stations are more popular than those of Radio-Canada because they more closely correspond to the socio-economic status of the population and focus on strictly local concerns. The listening habits of Acadians in New Brunswick, where residents have choices, show this. While only one-third listen to Radio-Canada, well over a half tune in to private radio, going up to three-quarters in the north west.[8]

The situation in the Sudbury region, another area with a choice of radio stations, is also revealing. In this nickel-mining city where one-third of the population is French, miners complain they cannot identify with Radio-Canada and instead turn to CFBR, a private station which includes western music in its program package. In this city the Radio-Canada station appeals to the elite composed of teachers, professors, and professionals, though in recent years it has made an effort to reach the growing group of educated youth now being turned out by French public high schools, a bilingual community college, and of course, the bilingual Laurentian University. Because of this new programming, ratings have gone up dramatically.

Community Radio

In addition to the commercial stations, some French radio is offered to French listeners by community stations on the FM band. The English Co-op-Radio in Vancouver has been broadcasting a weekly program in French called L'Apéro for the past five years. Some campus radio stations also broadcast in French. Moncton's CKUM station has broadcast exclusively in French for the past three years, while some regular French programming is offered on campuses in Saskatoon, Toronto, and Winnipeg.

As mentioned earlier, across the country a number of groups with the help of the Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français are trying to set up community radio stations. Most active are eleven groups who

form CIRCA (Comité d'implantation des radios communautaires en Acadie) in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, but there are also groups in Hearst and Penetang in Ontario, one in Manitoba, in addition to one in Labrador City and another in Port au Port.

B. Television

Community Television

No commercial television is produced on a regional basis outside Quebec. Some programming is offered through cable systems but not much. As the Fédération des francophones hors Québec's CEGIR report notes, francophones are not inclined to make use of this facility, first because of lack of resources, everything being done on a voluntary basis, and second because so often the French are treated as simply one of a number of ethnic groups, a situation they avoid. The only experiment in community television which has lasted is in Thunder Bay. There a subsidized group has been offering programming to the French community in the area for ten years.

Access to Other French Networks Through Cable

On cable systems, the French community potentially has access to programs that can be beamed from Anik-C satellite covering Ontario, Quebec, the Maritimes and half of Manitoba. Anik-C carries Radio-Québec, Quebec's educational network which is especially popular for its children's programming. In addition there is TVFQ (carrying material from three French television networks), TV Ontario, and Super Écran pay television.

Anik-D, covering the whole country carries Radio-Canada, and the CANCOM package which includes Télémétropole from Montreal. Offered with this are the CKAC and CITE private radio stations. A new French service -- TV 5, consisting of French, European and Canadian Television -- may be available in 1987.

Most cable companies do not feel, however, that numbers justify offering French services to their customers. At present, cable companies are offering some services in Ontario and New Brunswick.

ii French Programming in the Public Broadcasting Sector

A. Radio-Canada's Radio Stations

Radio-Canada has French AM stations in nine cities across the country. In seven (Moncton, Toronto, Windsor, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton and Vancouver), Radio-Canada is the only French station. Sudbury, as mentioned before, has two, while Ottawa has access to independent programming from Hull. Three provinces, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, have no French stations of their own and depend on the Moncton unit for whatever programming they get. In 1986 this will change when Nova Scotia gets a satellite radio station.

These stations are regional rather than local in that they beam to vast chunks of territory with large and often diverse populations. The Sudbury station covers the biggest area, from Mattawa to Thunder Bay and Blind River to Hearst. Moncton serves the whole Maritime region. The area covered by Toronto extends from Kingston to the Niagara peninsula and must take account of the needs of Franco-Ontarians, French Quebecers and French-speaking immigrants living in Toronto.

Most programming focuses on the city where the station operates. However, some broadcasts go beyond this. In the Maritime region, for example, permanent journalists in Halifax and Charlottetown as well as Fredericton, Bathurst and Edmundston provide regular material to the Moncton station. Every afternoon, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island each receive separate programs prepared by the permanent correspondents in the field. The Sudbury station is planning

an eight-part series called Portraits from the North and a ten-part series called Souvenirs which in interviews and with music will recapture important historical events across the region.

Programming for the most part is directed at the immediate constituency. The stations also contribute to the Radio-Canada network, but the number of hours is low, less than an hour a week, on average, from any one station. Hours of programming vary from a top of 62 hours a week for the Moncton station to a low of 35 hours in Saskatoon, with an average of about 40 hours. Stations have a morning and an afternoon show as well as regional news bulletins.

Once the regional broadcasts are over, the stations pick up Radio-Canada programming from Montreal. Most listeners show little interest in the network shows because they focus so intently on Montreal. There is no equivalent in French of Peter Gzowski's Morningside show which, although based in Toronto, airs material on cultural, political and community matters throughout the country. If francophones listening to radio outside Quebec want to find out what is going on across the nation, they switch to CBC English programs. But they hear no echo of their activities or concerns from the English sector. Whether in French or English, therefore, they complain that they do not exist at the national level.

B. Radio-Canada's Television Stations

For regional news and public affairs programming francophones across the country rely on Radio-Canada which has one station in the Maritime provinces (Moncton), three in Ontario (Ottawa, Toronto and Windsor), one in Manitoba (Winnipeg), one in Alberta (Edmonton) and one in British Columbia (Vancouver). As with radio, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island depend upon Moncton for programming. For television, Newfound does not get the Moncton signal and has access only to Montreal.

Hours of regional programming vary from about 12 hours a week for New Brunswick, six hours for Ontario, and two-and-a-half hours for each of the Western provinces which in addition share one and a half hours a week of inter-regional programming. Most of the regional programming focuses on news and public affairs.

Inter-regional programming in the west include Pile ou Face, a quiz show, A guichet fermé, an entertainement show, and Phare-Ouest, a human interest program featuring francophone personalities in the West. In addition, Edmonton covers some sports, and Regina offers agricultural news and a show called Tour à tour featuring short documentaires on Saskatchewan life. Toronto, Ottawa, and Moncton each carry Génie en herbe, a quiz competition for secondary schools, and Moncton has La Bastringue, a very popular country and western music show featuring Acadian artists.

For the 1984-85 season, every station except Regina mounted some special programs. These included a four-part mini drama series from Winnipeg, the Progressive Conservative leadership convention in Toronto, the Franco-Ontarian festival in Ottawa, and an eight-part series on farming and fishing out of Moncton.

The television stations contribute less than the radio stations to the network. Toronto, however, does from time to time offer material to Le Point and the Téléjournal. Once regional programming is over, the stations rely on feeds from Montreal, almost none of which focuses on anything outside Quebec. Francophones complain that even the nightly news and public affairs shows contain little information on other provinces. Once regional programming ends, therefore, most francophones switch to English stations.

More than 90 per cent of francophones across the country are covered by Radio-Canada.[9] In principle all areas with a potential of 500 listeners within a radius of ten miles receive coverage. Under the

CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan, most of these communities have received service though some are still waiting. These include Simcoe and Port Elgin for television in Ontario, and Powell River, Vernon and Quesnel in British Columbia, and Whitehorse and Yellowknife in the North West Territories for both radio and television. The most complaints regarding lack of service come from La Fédération des Franco-Colombiens which points out that 14,000 people, representing 38 per cent of the French in British Columbia, still do not have access to Radio-Canada. While most communities have access to the service, some groups are receiving inappropriate signals. For example, the north-west of Ontario gets the radio and television signal from St. Boniface in Manitoba, Belgrade in Saskatchewan gets the St. Boniface signal, while Newfoundland, for television, gets the Montreal rather than the Moncton signal.

C. The Educational Networks

TV Ontario

The only other programming produced at the regional level in French comes out of Ontario's educational network, TV Ontario. Starting in 1970, it has offered the French in the province children's programming every day and a variety of programming from noon to midnight on Sundays. This includes two participation programs, Le lys et le trillium and C'est ton droit, both of which focus on Franco-Ontarian questions, plus an interview show with economist Marie-Josée Drouin, and a film accompanied by a panel discussion.

TV Ontario is the only regional station that has an outreach program designed to find out the needs of the community. According to director Donald Duprey, TVO works closely with schools, churches,

community and pressure groups getting ideas from as many sources as possible for programming. Once programs are available, TVO returns to the communities to hold workshops to make sure that teachers and others make the most of materials.

TVO is particularly sensitive to the needs of youth, but is also aware of the concerns of the older and less educated parts of the population. A recent study, for example, looked at programming possibilities in the health field for the illiterate segment of the French constituency. Since 1984, TVO has adopted a strong Franco-Ontarian orientation placing a priority on support for francophone culture in the region and looking for creative ways to respond to particular needs. In 1987, TVO starts a separate all-French channel which will be beamed from satellite to cable. Programming on the regular channel, available to all provincial television users, will remain.

Radio-Québec

If and when it extends its signal, Radio-Québec could provide francophones outside Quebec with some interesting programming. At present services are available through cable in Ontario and parts of New Brunswick, but if added to Anik-D, a service could be offered across the country. Some of its programs for children are of broad interest, but most of its regular fare is too Quebec-oriented for francophones in other provinces. If subsidized by Quebec and various federal departments like Communications and Secretary of State, regional programming could be made available, but this is a possibility which has not yet been fully explored, though there have been federal-provincial meetings on the subject.

5. Responses from French Communities Outside Quebec Regarding Radio-Canada Services

Radio-Canada plays such a central role in broadcasting for the French outside Quebec that most insist that programming remain intact and budgets be immune from cuts. Nevertheless, there are a great many complaints about the service. The percentage of listeners -- 49 per cent for radio and only 56 per cent for television -- speaks volumes about the day-to-day attachment of people to the service.

One reason for this low rate of listening is Radio-Canada's commitment to "enlightened" broadcasting. Surveys show that Radio-Canada listeners on the average have more than 13 years of formal education, higher than for most francophones across the country.

Given this orientation, television watching in certain parts of the country -- especially in the Maritime provinces -- is surprisingly high. A study done by SORECOM for Radio-Canada in 1982 on radio and television services in the Maritimes showed that 63 per cent of the French in New Brunswick, 60 per cent in Nova Scotia, and 71 per cent in Prince Edward Island watch Radio-Canada television. Across the country certain programs have gained strong followings, whether on radio or television. Among the most popular are TNT for youth in Sudbury and La Bastringue and Coup d'oeil on television in Moncton.

That said, there is such a barrage of complaints about the service that they cannot be ignored. The fact that francophone associations across the country are working on an alternative to Radio-Canada through introduction of a network of community radio stations shows that groups are being pushed to act rather than simply talk.

The number one complaint from listeners about Radio-Canada -- whether of radio or television -- is that broadcasting from stations across the country is not regional enough. The topics selected, the

approach taken to stories, and the accent used by broadcasters do not reflect the people who live in the various regions. This comes out strongly in the Fédération des francophones hors Québec's new background paper prepared by CEGIR.

This cross-Canada study, as well as surveys from the regions, say programming is askew because broadcasters and managers do not come from the communities they serve. The Association jeunesse fransaskoise, for example, told the task force on broadcasting in August 1985, that Radio-Canada programming "is foreign because it is done by outsiders who understand with difficulty our interests, our needs and our milieu," adding that there is little programming for young people.[10] Listeners to the Toronto and Sudbury stations have been saying the same thing for quite some time.[11]

Curiously enough, according to Radio-Canada's vice-president of regional broadcasting in French, the corporation's number one priority in recruitment is knowledge of the region. Richard Casavant, founding director of the Franco-Ontario office of the Ontario Arts Council and now director of communications at the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, finds this hard to believe, given the history of recruitment in Ontario where there is a growing contingent of educated francophones.

He says that in Toronto, of about 20 people in the French radio and television news room, only three are Franco-Ontarian. According to Casavant and people close to the station, the management in Toronto does not insist that those from outside Ontario learn about Franco-Ontarian interests or problems, even though studies show that in the case of television, most watchers are Franco-Ontarians from heavily French areas in the north like Sudbury, Timmins and Hearst.

Lack of sensitivity to Franco-Ontarian interests, say observers, was reflected in two big events celebrating first, the tenth anniversary of the arrival of French television in Toronto and, second,

the twentieth anniversary of the French radio station. According to Casavant, in the first case there was no consultation with the Franco-Ontarian community, and Radio-Canada featured Maureen Forrester in a gala concert. "We have important Franco-Ontarian artists who could have performed," said Casavant. "Why weren't they invited?"

A year later, for the second anniversary celebration, the management announced it would bring Quebec singer Ginette Reno to Toronto for a show to be televised on Radio-Canada's show-piece cultural program Les beaux dimanches. When some of the local staff said it was "indicative of a colonial mentality" to import a Quebec star for the event, the management relented and invited Franco-Ontarian singers and poets for the show.

Staff in Toronto noted that the program was well-received not only by the French in Ontario but also by Quebecers. "We have good artists here," said one newsperson. "But the Quebecers worry we may be kétaine ... even our own people and others from the rest of Canada feel so colonized by the Quebecers, so inferior, that we don't dare assert ourselves..."

The assertion of regional rights has been most noticeable in New Brunswick among Acadians who have been receiving international recognition as a result of writers like Antonine Maillet who won the coveted Prix Goncourt in France. La Sagouine by Maillet was in fact first presented in a series of monologues by the author for the Moncton station.

In the late 1970s, Acadians in Moncton flexed their cultural muscles and insisted, among other things, that they be permitted to use their Acadian accents on air. Programming and staff became more Acadian, a fact reflected in the widespread support in the community for the television stations.

Acadians point out, however, that while Radio-Canada may grudgingly accept their accents in Acadia, it does not want the regional accents to seep into national programs. Sources says that as a result, Radio-Canada in Montreal studiously avoids using Acadian reporters for national stories originating in the Maritimes and sticks to Quebec correspondents. The reluctance to use regional people was most evident, say Acadians, during the visits of the Pope and of the Queen. In both cases, Radio-Canada insisted on using Montreal newspersons, some of whom knew so little about New Brunswick that they were mispronouncing the names of the towns. "Our regional people are professional," said one Acadian newsman in Moncton. "We could have done a better job."

One way to make sure regional coverage reflects regional cultural values is to train people from the region. Across the country, and particularly in the bilingual belt extending from New Brunswick to Ontario, there is a growing group of educated francophones who could be trained for jobs. Algonquin College in Ottawa offers the only broadcasting program for francophones, but graduates with broadcasting potential from the Université de Moncton, Laurentian University, the Collège de Hearst, the Université d'Ottawa, and the Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface, could be given on-the-job training by Radio-Canada and later offered jobs in the regional stations.

Groups across the country have been asking for this for some time. Western francophone groups in particular would like a program for francophone broadcasters offered by a combination of Radio-Canada and the National Film Board in collaboration with French educational institutions in the province. Radio-Canada is not ready to do this. The regional vice-president of French broadcasting says Radio-Canada "is not a school and will not offer any basic training programs."

A second way to try to ensure that regional programming remains attuned to cultural needs is to create consultative committees reflection a range of regional interests and acting as watch-dogs on programming. Francophone associations have been asking for this for years. There has been a long history of lack of dialogue, if not outright conflict, between the various communities and Radio-Canada, a fact that is highlighted from time to time by the CRTC.

In a public notice of March 9, 1978 regarding French services in the Maritime region, the CRTC said it "deplored the lack of dialogue and collaboration" between Radio-Canada and community groups, and suggested they open lines of communication. Later, in its decision the following year on the Radio-Canada licence, it said that Radio-Canada should, as suggested by the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, seriously consider setting up consultative committes.

Like the demand for training, this request continues to be turned down by Radio-Canada. According to the vice-president of regional French programming, "costs prohibit the setting up of such committees."

The French constituency is most concerned about regional programming, but is even more critical of Radio-Canada's national programming. News and public affairs, they say, focus almost exclusively on Quebec. In a special consultation done by a federal-provincial committee on the future of French television, participants commented that the CBC's The Journal is more appreciated by francophones because it covers the whole country.

The national news does, of course, carry news from outside Quebec from time to time. There are, in fact, correspondents in six cities -- Halifax, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver. But only a small minority of these correspondents come from the region, a fact that the local communities find unfair.

The communities also complain that Radio-Canada's national policy on drama offers few opportunities for local writers. The federal-provincial committee on television notes on the future of French television that through 50 drama serials created since 1953, more than 1,000 francophone actors and 100 authors in Quebec have had an opportunity to make a living from their art. "Outside Quebec," says the report, "the artistic community complains about the low level of regional production which might help to create jobs for performers and technicians."[12] The Centre culturel franco-manitobain, in its brief to the task force on broadcasting in August 1985, makes the same point.

6. Proposals by Francophones to Improve Radio and Television Services

Proposals by francophones across the country to improve radio and television services have the following objectives:

i. offer more regional radio and television programming;

ii. make national radio and television materials from Radio-Canada more reflective of cross-Canada news, trends, and personalities;

iii. offer the greatest variety of programming possible;

iv. meet the growing market for educational materials.

i. Improvement of Regional Programming

A. Decentralization of Radio-Canada

To improve regional programming, the French constituency wants Radio-Canada to let go of its bureaucratic hold over the regions. In 1983, Radio-Canada made a move in this direction when it created a new position, associate vice-president of regional broadcasting, and appointed Marie Poulin to the job. According to Mme Poulin, regional directors report to her and not, as formerly, to civil servants in Montreal for finances, details of programming and regional coordination.

Despite this change, groups in the regions, including individuals working at the various stations, say improvement has been minimal and in the end offers nothing more than lip-service to the idea of regional

involvement. Richard Casavant, of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, states, "Mme Poulin does not have the power or the budget she needs." He also points out that most of the jobs across the country are still held by Quebecers.

The French outside Quebec feel they have come to the point where they no longer want to take orders from Quebecers who believe they know what is best for them. They are asking, therefore, for nothing less than autonomy for their regional stations. They want their own people to plan and broadcast for their own communities.

The groups recognize that the communities do not have the same bank of trained broadcasters as Quebec. To guarantee appropriate personnel, they want Radio-Canada to provide basic training to recruits from the regions, perhaps in conjunction with provincial educational institutions. In this way, they say, responsibility for financing could be shared.

Without employment opportunities, they say, the youth from the communities across the country cannot develop artistically and are simply encouraged to assimilate into the English community where there are more jobs. Groups want opportunities not only for local broadcasters of news and public affairs, but also for writers of drama series. They are asking Radio-Canada to reallocate money to allow more drama productions in the regions. This, they point out, could give a boost to local French production houses like Télé-Acadie in New Brunswick.

B. Development of a National Network of Community Radio Stations

Many francophones believe that Radio-Canada should continue to broadcast "quality" programming beamed at a wide regional base. But they feel this can serve the constituency only if it is supplemented by the introduction of a network of locally-oriented community stations

across the country. If these are not created, they are convinced francophones will continue to depend upon English stations for local material, thereby encouraging an assimilation rate which is already 33 per cent.

Over the past three years, a spontaneous movement across the country has arisen to establish community-run radio stations. Activity on projects increased in the aftermath of a nation-wide conference on community radio in Moncton in 1984 sponsored by the Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français. This organization is spreadheading coordination of a cross-country project seeking federal and provincial funding.

More than 15 groups are working on projects, and according to the FJCF, seven will be ready to present proposals to the CRTC in 1986. The organization hopes to see 12 autonomous stations plus another 31 studios appended to Radio-Canada stations. Programming would be geared to local audiences but groups would offer one another material of interest outside the region so that a quasi national network could take shape.

The FJCF has studied the success of Quebec's 21 community radio stations funded by Quebec's department of communications and the 100 community stations in the north supported by the Secretary of State's native communications program, and knows it needs funding to flourish.

The FJCF is looking for a commitment, principally from the federal authorities, for a five-year plan to launch French community radio outside Quebec. The organization has already approached the Department of Communications, Secretary of State, and Employment and Immigration for support for development work, feasibility studies, and training, but would over the long term expect funding from the provinces and local communities. Fifty per cent of operating funding, it believes, could come from local advertisers.

The CRTC has shown interest in the question and heard from a number of groups in the spring of 1985 after which it revised its policy and proposed two models for community radio: one for communities where there are no French stations, and a second for areas where there are already units.

ii. Improvement of National Programming

The second demand put forward by francophones is that Radio-Canada's national radio and television service cover more general news and public affairs so that they will not depend so heavily on English language service. Groups also feel that their activities deserve more exposure. Dramas initially shown in the regions should be given opportunities to be aired on the network. The communities are also asking that the network hire more people from the regions to serve as correspondents for the national service.

iii More Variety of Programming Through Cable Systems

Most francophones would like access to French programming available through Anik-C and Anik-D, but there is no overwhelming interest in what is offered because so much of the programming reflects either Quebec or France.[13] In general francophones show no interest in paying extra for it. Over the long term, francophones outside Quebec say they would like to gain access to educational networks like TV Ontario and Radio-Québec, particularly if programming responds to broad interests.

iv Creation of a Second French Television Network for Francophones Outside Quebec

Francophones outside Quebec feel it is important in the short term to improve Radio-Canada's regional and national television network, but they realize they must have at least one other choice in television.

Groups have looked at various options. Francophones are becoming aware of the need for educational material. People in Ontario are keenly awaiting the expansion of TV Ontario from a small service to full programming even though it will be available only on cable. All eyes are now on Radio-Québec which has been asked to extend its signal and which may, with federal-provincial funding, offer some regional programming. However, many groups -- notably the Fédération des francophones hors Québec -- are uneasy about this development.

First of all the French outside Quebec fear that if Radio-Québec extends its signal and its programming, it could become a kind of second Radio-Canada with all the same problems of the federal crown corporation. For the French in the other provinces, this means control from Montreal, a predominance of Quebec programming, and Quebec staff. Francophones outside Quebec do not want Quebecers to package their programming. They want to do it themselves.

The French are all the more uneasy about the developments with Radio-Québec given what happened to TV Ontario when it asked the CRTC for a licence to create a national youth network. This proposal -- which would have had a French service -- was not considered because it did not meet certain application criteria. Many French outside Quebec supported the idea of a youth network, first because of the paucity of youth programming on Radio-Canada, and second because development of materials would have been in the hands of Franco-Ontarians, not Quebecers. Francophones feel that Radio-Québec, because it is a Quebec agency, is getting favored treatment.

At this stage francophones are leaning toward another type of solution for television. Rather than allow Radio-Québec to move into the educational television arena at the national level, the French outside Quebec would like to package material from a variety of sources for a second French channel. At this juncture, it should be underlined that the French show little interest in the material available through Anik-C and Anik-D.

What they would like to do is gather up materials from a variety of sources and put them on a network. These sources would include TV Ontario, Radio-Québec, the National Film Board, Télé-Acadie and fledgling production houses that are popping up across the country as Radio-Canada opens the door to material from the private sector. Certain programs from TVFQ and TV 5 might be of interest, but not the total package.

The French outside Quebec favor the development of a second television network, supported by the federal government, rather than pushing for the introduction of more provincial educational networks with French services. As Richard Casavant, of the communications committee of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec puts it: "We don't trust the provinces. After the way they've treated us in education, why should we?" The French outside Quebec do not want to be dependent upon any provincial government, Quebec or other. They prefer to work with the federal level.

The market for this second French network would be broader than the one million French mother tongue population of the country. Some programming, especially educational materials, would appeal to the roughly 750,000 bilingual anglophones outside Quebec. Educational material and entertainment programming for youth, could, for example be used by the 100,000 anglophones in French immersion programs. Among adults, it has already been shown that documentary and feature films draw bilingual anglophones.[14]

Across the country francophone broadcasters are becoming aware of the widening potential of French programming because of the broadening base of French speakers. In Winnipeg, to take only one example, broadcasters interviewed for the CEGIR study on broadcasting for the Fédération des francophones hors Québec say that because of the growth of bilingual anglophones in Manitoba, the French television audience in the region, if properly exploited, could as much as quadruple.[15]

7. Recommendations

What proposals of the French outside Quebec might be considered most reasonable and pressing at the present time? Those responding to two concerns of francophones across the country in various briefs and surveys should have priority. One concern is to meet the requirements of local communities of French-Canadians. The other is to respond to the growth of a diverse French-speaking audience composed of French-Canadians with deep roots in the regions as well as bilingual anglophones and French immigrants.

Recommendation 1. Radio-Canada should decentralize its radio and television operations in the regions and give communities control over stations.

The needs of the diverse French-speaking audience that is developing requires radio programming for both the well-educated and the average listener. For this reason, Radio-Canada should continue to offer high-quality programming. But this programming should reflect more accurately the social and cultural context of the regions. Guidelines for programming should be loosened and recruitment should take place in the regions.

Outside Quebec, Radio-Canada should act as an agent of social change and community development rather than as an extension of a bureaucracy in Montreal. It should develop a completely different policy for the one million francophones living outside the province.

This policy should be one of complete decentralization. Regional autonomy is necessary. Given the history of Radio-Canada outside Quebec this is the only way to ensure strong connections between the community and programming.

As part of its policy, it should offer basic courses in broadcasting and on-the-job training for young journalists, bringing groups to Montreal if necessary for field placements. Over the past year, the Quebec government has shown interest in providing media expertise to francophones outside Quebec. The Quebec department of communications, which is already working with its federal counterpart on various projects, could set up a shared program with Radio-Canada.

Recommendation 2. The federal government, in concert with the provinces, and the Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français, should fund a community radio network of French stations.

The establishment of a community radio network — with support from federal and provincial governments and local communities — could go far to meet the needs of individual communities across the country crying for stations close to the grassroots. These stations would be able to go beyond the capabilities of outlets depending on volunteers, and would, of course provide jobs.

Recommendation 3. Radio-Canada's national radio and television programming should offer more material from across the crountry and not restrict itself so much to Quebec.

Francophones outside Quebec put a priority on regional programming, but like other Canadians, they want a national radio and television service they can relate to. This means more coverage of provincial affairs in the national news and more coverage of francophones activities across the country. In drama, it means giving the regions more opportunity to develop series that could be aired nationally.

Recommendation 4. More correspondents for the national news service should come from the regions.

Francophone broadcasters from the regions feel they should be offered opportunities to work for the national network. When news coverage demands extra personnel for events like elections and state visits, they would like the possibility of working for the national network.

Recommendation 5. The French outside Quebec should be given the opportunity to develop a second national television network.

This network would not produce much original material, but would instead draw together programming from a variety of sources of interest for a diverse French-speaking audience. Much of the material would be of an educational nature.

PART TWO: THE ENGLISH IN QUEBEC

8. A Brief Profile of the Group

Until recently, the English in Quebec made up between one-sixth and one-fifth of the population. This level was maintained by heavy English immigration to Quebec and assimilation of immigrants of other languages to the English rather than the French communitys. Less than half of the maintenance of the English population was due to natural increase.

Between the censuses of 1971 and 1981, the English population of Quebec dropped dramatically as about 100,000 left the province. Now there are 706,115 of English mother tongue plus an additional 103,000 who use English at home, bringing the total to 13 per cent of the total population.

Most of the English -- about 500,000 — are concentrated in the Montreal area where they make up about 18 per cent of the city's population. The rest are dispersed across the province. The largest concentrations are in the Eastern Townships (about 50,000) and the Outaouais region (46,000).

The English community's institutions are dominated by people of Anglo-Protestant background, but increasingly important roles are played by individuals of Irish, Jewish, Italian, and Greek backgrounds.

Historically, English Montreal was the economic and cultural centre of Canada. The influence of the community nationally started to wane as far back as the 1920s when business interests shifted to Toronto. It was only in the 1960s, with the rise of nationalism, that the Quebec English became aware of their diminishing power not only in Canada but also in Quebec.

During this period the Quebec bureaucracy grew in size and influence. As it expanded, the English lost control of education and social services, as well as a number of cultural organizations. When this happened the English found themselves in a minority position, without power, and forced to come to terms with the political majority.

In 1961, only a quarter of the English population could speak French. As the political situation warmed up and various language laws were introduced, hundreds of people enrolled in French courses. By 1971, 37 per cent spoke French; by 1981, 53 per cent declared themselves bilingual. In twenty years, bilingualism among the English more than doubled. Now, virtually the entire English elite sends its children to French schools or immersion programs for a substantial part of elementary and high school. According to the 1981 census, 75 per cent of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 are bilingual.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the community slowly began to transform itself from a group that saw itself as part of the majority in canada to a minority in Quebec. Led by young people, groups associated with centre-left politics, and young professionals, the community now perceives itself more and more in bicultural terms.

An old guard of unilingual anglophones, who have not moved away from a mentality typical of the 1950s, still control keys posts in important institutions like the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, McGill University, and the various Protestant churches. But these people are being overtaken by a younger bilingual generation who want a different kind of relationship with the French majority.

The challenge for the English is to comes to terms with the French and at the same time strengthen their own institutions. With the shift of head offices to Toronto, business does not play the role it once did for the English community. Fewer big corporations are still there to

absorb people looking for life-long employment and pensions. Because of this, anglophones are slowly learning to become more entrepreneurial and individualistic.

Now more jobs are concentrated in schools, CEGEPs, the universities, social services, and the cultural sector.

In this changing context, the media, and especially the CBC, assume a more important role than they once did. The CBC is no longer just one more institution in the community; it becomes a key player in the development of the group. In the past, the English did not look to the CBC for leadership. In the 1970s, however, as the English lurched from one political crisis to another, people looked to the corporation for support and for answers.

The political situation has calmed down now to the point of boredom and pressure groups like Alliance Quebec are no longer in the news. However, the community as a whole is left to adjust to the structural changes wrought by the shake-ups of the past twenty years. This includes a smaller and aging population and a tendency for young people to seek jobs elsewhere. As they slowly redefine themselves, organizations like the CBC will be called upon to help the community develop new skills and move into different spheres.

In discussing broadcasting for the English of Quebec, the community must be divided in two. There are, first of all, the English of Montreal, numbering approximately 500,000. In terms of services, they do as well as, if not better than, people living in cities of comparable size such as Halifax or Winnipeg.

The demands this group makes in broadcasting — particularly public broadcasting -- are similar to those of other regions, all of which are uneasy about the concentration of programming in Toronto.

The context for the community's demands, however, is different because the English in Montreal are a minority in process of change.

The second group of English Quebecers have much in common with the French outside the bilingual belt. They consist of small groups of people overwhelmed by the majority and with few cultural supports. Numbering about 200,000, they include 50,000 people in the Eastern Townships, 46,500 in the Outaouais, 18,500 in Quebec City, 12,000 in the Gaspé, 4,000 in the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean area, and 5,000 around Trois-Rivières. These groups depend entirely on CBC for regional programming.

9. The English in Montreal

As the business sector diminishes in importance for the English in Montreal, cultural life takes on a large dimension. Theatre, publishing, documentary film making, and of course, the mass media play increasingly influential roles in the development of the community.

Over the years, nationally-oriented institutions have tended to move to Toronto. In the cultural domain, the National Theatre School and the National Film Board are two that have remained. Because there is so little professional English theatre, the National Theatre School does not feed into the Montreal theatre milieu in any significant way. Upon graduation, most budding actors head for Toronto. The National Film Board is different. Film makers from the board are active in community and educational activities.

In terms of mass media, English Montreal has many choices. Until the demise of The Star in the late 1970s, it had two daily papers. Now there in only The Gazette aside from several weeklies serving districts of the city and suburbs. In radio and television there has always been variety.

Private Sector Broadcasting

Radio

In private sector radio, there is CFCF, CJAD, CKGM, each with AM and FM stations. These stations have a long history. CFCF AM opened in 1919 under the call letters XWA, the first radio broadcasting station in Canada, and CFCF FM in 1947. CJAD AM goes back to 1945, its FM station to 1962. CKGM is new: both AM and FM (now called CHOM) stations opened in 1963. The most serious programming comes from CJAD

AM which prides itself on offering up-to-date news and public affairs laced with talk shows and music. CFCF specializes in talk and open-line shows of various kinds. The FM stations offer popular music.

Television

CFCF television which began operations in 1961, is the only English private television station in Montreal. It produces 25 hours a week, roughly half devoted to news and public affairs. In addition, viewers get three interview shows, as well as programs that focus on travel, keeping fit, hockey, and popular music. There is no locally produced drama. Viewers also have access to CTV and a wide range of stations available on cable including the main American commercial channels and the American public broadcasting service.

ii Public Sector Broadcasting

CBC Radio

CBC radio offers English Montreal three daily shows broadcast as a matter of policy to regional audiences as well. Called Daybreak, Radio Noon and Home Run, they cover a total of seven hours each day during the week. On weekends, there is the Saturday Morning Show offering entertainment sports and community events for all English Quebecers, and an arts show called Saturday Spotlight, again for the whole of the province, featuring live performances of jazz, rock and roll, poetry readings and so on.

The Montreal English station also produces a great deal for the network, more in fact than any other regional station. It does four complete shows: Cross Country Check Up, a phone-in show on a specially chosen issue on Sundays, Jazzbeat on Saturday, and Music from Montreal on Suday mornings. Brave New Waves, featuring new wave music and live

interviews, is aired nightly from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. In addition Montreal broadcasters contribute on a regular basis to Morningside, As It Happens, Sunday Morning and Ideas. Two network producers, one to feed Quebec material to Morningside, and another for Ideas, are based in Montreal.

The biggest hole in programming is in radio drama. Montreal has always been strong in news and current affairs, but has become virtually non-existent in drama. With the budget cuts, the station dropped its drama producer. The decision to cut the drama producer, and not some other staffer was made because the person in question was not able to produce successful seasons of radio plays. A man brought in specially from Toronto, he had few contacts with Montreal writers, and was not able to nurture promising talent. Last year Montreal produced a ten-part historical series that centred on a judge in the Gaspé, and a one-hour special on the New Year's fire in Chapais. The year before, a ten-part series on the Irish in the Maisonneuve district of Montreal was featured. This year nothing at all has been programmed, though the Saturday Spotlight show hopes to do a series.

CBC radio drama in Montreal can flourish only if the head office gives the station a respectable budget. For the past number of years, the budget stood at $15,000 a year. Now the crisis goes beyond the question of budget. If CBC wants to produce radio drama it must be prepared to pull together the Montreal talent for it. This could mean working with the Communications department at Concordia University and local community colleges in order to offer training for writers and prospective producers.

The English community in Montreal has lost a lot of talent to Toronto in the wake of the centralization of the CBC and the political changes of the past 15 years. Nevertheless Montreal remains the third largest English-speaking city in the country and has resources if properly cultivated. It is unrealistic at this stage of the

community's development to expect producers and writers to appear fully formed. In drama the CBC should be prepared to act as an agent of community development offering training programs in conjunction with other institutions.

CBC Television

CBC television in Montreal offers viewers about ten hours a week of news and public affairs as well as two half hour shows, Stepping Out, a Montreal entertainment show, and Country Report, focusing on rural life, and produced in Ottawa, but with important contributions from Montreal. In addition, the station covers sport (hockey, football, and baseball) plus some religious programming. Every year there are specials. The St. Patrick's Day parade is always covered, as is the Montreal International Marathon. This year the station produced a series for youth called Now.

In addition to material produced for the region, the Montreal station contributes regularly to many national shows, among them The Journal, the National News, Mid Day and Gzowski and Company, a new show featuring people from various parts of the country.

The relationship between the network and the Montreal unit is, according to the Montreal management, good. Reporters from the National news, for example, started in the Montreal region and were hired by the network. Whether in television or radio, Montreal broadcasters feel they get opportunities to move to the network if they want to.

Montreal, in fact suffers from a syphoning away of its talent to Toronto. This was driven home in a poignant way to people in the station in the summer of 1985 when Montreal lost its star television drama producer, Mark Blandford. Originally a documentary producer,

Blandford created a highly successful drama department in Montreal that produced series like Empire for the network. But when Blandford was lured to Toronto to work full time for the network, there was no one to replace him in Montreal.

Now, unlike certain other regions, the Montreal television station has no drama department. Scripts offered to CBC television in Montreal are being sent to Toronto where they are judged by people who do not know Montreal and are not in a position to work with writers. The regional stations across the country have designed a regional drama series entitled The Way We Are, but Montreal is not in a position to produce material for it. The management is trying to get around this by hiring an independent English production group in the city to produce a TV drama. A project by a Montreal writer is being considered, but it has already run into funding problems.

The Montreal management says it is willing to enter into negotiations with the National Film Board which has experience with small dramatic productions. A formula for working on common projects is a possibility. For the time being, however, television drama in Montreal is in limbo.

For the English community, support for local talent in film, drama, and journalism is essential if the English in the city are to avoid becoming a backwater. Joint efforts by the CBC and the Film Board in drama could be important. Over the past ten years, the CBC has tried to play a community development role for the English in the city and has gone out of its way to meet with a large number of groups. This role could be extended to include nurturing writers and producers in drama for both radio and television.

Both radio and television units suffer from another problem in Montreal: total lack of control over physical and technical resources. Radio-Canada provides English television and radio with all technical personnel and equipment, but only after Radio-Canada's needs have been met. English production requirements come last on the list of priorities.

In addition to chronic uncertainty about the availability of equipment, management says tension between the French technicians and the English programmers is a major problem. Many Radio-Canada crews, they say, are not interested in English programs and do not speak enough English to permit the productions tro run smoothly. The only way to solve the problem, say English personnel, is to allocate resources to the English units. The television staff is particularly irked by the problem since the Montreal television station is the second largest contributor to commercial revenues in the country and makes the most contributions of shows to the network.

10. The English Outside Montreal

The English outside Montreal receive programming from the Montreal television station, but services designed especially for them are limited to radio. Some community radio is produced in Sherbrooke and in the Gaspé region, but it is not extensive. Groups have not pushed to gain access to stations or to subsidies offered by the Quebec communications department which supports 21 French community radio stations.

CBC offers the main programming for the off-island English through the Quebec City radio station. Every day it produces Good Morning Quebec from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m. and an afternoon show called Breakaway. The morning show makes a point of featuring ten local correspondents from places like Rouyn, Sept Isles, Val d'Or, Baie Como and Abitibi, most of whom have no professional training as broadcasters. Included among these correspondents is a fireman, a housewife, and a teacher who present material from their areas in a highly colorful manner. The presence of these broadcasters bothers reporters from Quebec City, Gaspé and Sherbrooke who work for these programs on a permanent basis. However, surveys show the local correspondents make the program especially interesting for the local communities and CBC has no intention of dropping them.

The establishment of Breakway was something of a coup since it began in October 1985 after the budget cuts. However, CBC in Quebec feels a strong responsibility toward anglophones dispersed across the province. As Ron Laplante, head of radio for the Quebec region points out: "What is CBC if it can't offer service to minorities like the English off the island of Montreal who depend so entirely on CBC?"

People in the various communities outside Montreal are happy with the programming but would like more of it. This comes out in briefs from the Townshippers Association, the Quebec Farmers Association, and

Alliance Quebec's Off Island Taskforce which has studied communications. In some areas -- the Chateauguay Valley and the western part of the Townships, for example -- people complain they cannot get the community programming from Quebec City and must depend upon programming from Montreal.

Most English-speaking people in Quebec get CBC radio and television, but there are exceptions. Groups close to the American border are out of reach of signals, and in Hull people receive the CBC service from Ottawa rather than Montreal.

11. Recommendations

Recommendation 1. In Montreal radio and television units should set up drama departments and present productions on a regular basis.

Over the past ten years, CBC has been an agent of community development as the English have coped with major political and social changes. This has been to its credit. Now it should go further. As mentioned earlier, the community is shifting away from its strong business orientation and must develop in new cultural directions.

The CBC should play an agressive role in the nurturing of talent in drama. CBC Montreal should work with local institutions, among them the Communications Department at Concordia University, the National Theatre School, Centaur Theatre, and local community colleges to help train and develop people in the field.

Recommendation 2. The CBC English radio and television stations in Montreal should be given control over their physical and technical resources.

This situation should be solved by the regional managers in Ottawa and Radio-Canada in Montreal.

Recommendation 3. Radio Programming services for off-island English Quebecers should expand.

Programming for the 200,000 anglophones off-island has improved, especially with the introduction of the radio program Breakaway. However, because these people depend so heavily on the CBC regional radio service, CBC Quebec should try to offer more programming.

Conclusion

The various French groups outside Quebec cannot be compared to the English minority in Quebec. Each has a separate history and different problems to cope with in the 1980s. In any re-working of broadcasting policy, however, both must be perceived as minorities. Francophones in Acadia or Manitoba cannot be treated as extensions of the French in Montreal just as anglophones in Montreal can't be considered to be listeners in just another English region.

In each case, broadcasting policies sensitive to community development issues are necessary. Radio-Canada cannot expect the French outside the province to willingly follow norms and regulations suitable for French listeners in Montreal. The corporation must stop behaving like a bureaucracy and start acting like an agent of community development.

The same is true for the CBC in Montreal. It provides services that the community appreciates; staff at the station is in general satisfied. But the station must address certain problems that relate directly to the development of English cultural life in the city. The main one centres on the lack of drama productions. Instead of playing a pasive role, expecting appropriate talent to manifest itself, with all the proper broadcasting qualifications, the CBC could seek out people and work with them.

The French and English divisions of the CBC have never given the official language minorities much attention and have not really developed special policies for them. It is time that the head offices in Toronto and Montreal took a closer look at the needs of their minorities and created policies that take account of their needs and problems.

FOOTNOTES

1. Towards the Larger Community, by Dominique Clift in Language and Society, No. 12 Winter 1984.

2. See Les services francophones de radio et de télévision hors Québec, for the Fédération des francophones hors Quebec, CEGIR, October 1956, p. 55. Also Centre culturel franco-manitobain, brief to Task Force on Broadcasting, August, 1985, p.7.

3. Les services francophones de radio et de télévision hors Québec, p. 4-9.

4. Motivation d'écoute et de non-écoute des francophones hors Québec face à la radio-télévision française de Radio-Canada, Radio-Canada, March 1985, p.2.

5. Projet de politique relatif à la radio communautaire, mémoire au Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes, La Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français, p. 3.

6. Les services francophones de radio et de télévision hors Québec, p. 4-2.

7. Ibid, p. 4-2.

8. La radio et la télévision de Radio-Canada dans les Maritimes, rapport synthèse, SORECOM, for Radio-Canada, 1982, p. 11, 12.

9. Les services francophones de radio et de télévision hors Québec, p. 2-3.

10. Le bond-ondes brief to the Task Force on Broadcasting, Association Jeunesse fransaskoise, August 1985, p.2.

11. Motivation d'écoute et de non-écoute des francophones hors Québec face à la radio-télévision française de Radio-Canada, p. 4.

12. The Future of French-Language Television, report of the Federal-Provincial Committee on the Future of French-Language Television, Ministers of Communications, Quebec and Ottawa May 1985, p. 12.

13. Les services francophones de radio et de télévision hors Québec.

14. The Future of French-Language Television, p. 29

15. Les services francophones de radio et de télévision hors Québec, compte rendu des entrevues avec des radiodiffuseurs, Winnipeg.

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Department of Communications, Ottawa

Secretary of State, Ottawa

Fédération des francophones hors Québec, Ottawa

Fédération des jeunes Canadiens français, Ottawa

Alliance Quebec, Montreal

Regional Broadcasting Office, Radio-Canada, Ottawa

CBC Montreal

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, Ottawa

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa

Radio-Canada, Toronto

Radio-Canada, Moncton

Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick, Moncton